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The New Challenge to President Wilson for Justice

National Woman's Party

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Notes of the Week

The United States is Asked to Help Ireland

PRESIDENT WILSON and the Congress of the United States have been appealed to by the Sinn Feiners of Ireland for help in their demand for the independence of Ireland from England. A letter, signed by the revolutionists recently freed from English prisons, quotes from the President's message to the provisional government of Russia, and asks that he act upon it. It lays stress on that portion of the message which states that the United States stands for "the liberation of peoples everywhere from the aggressions of autocratic force."

President Wilson is always interested in freedom for men and is supposed already to have used some influence for the Irish aims with the British Commission. The Sinn Feiners, therefore, need not be discouraged by the fact that since their letter was written on June 18, American women have been thrown into prison for daring to ask for liberation in this country.

The Pork Bill

THE senate having passed the food control bill after weeks of debate, has turned its attention to the annual river and harbor appropriations bill, and a determined fight is being made to put it through. This measure is masquerading as a war measure. One of the leaders against the bill has declared in the senate that it is one of the worst rivers and harbors bills ever presented to Congress.

At present no senator is strong enough on the side of just statesmanship to take the lead in Congress in backing the federal suffrage amendment, one of the most important of true war measures. Senators are waiting for the President to give the sign.

Who Profits from Women's Savings

OFFICERS of the national committee of patriotic and defense societies are asking what people in this country are getting the benefit of the household economies so strongly urged by the government. General S. B. M. Young, George Wharton Pepper, Edward Harding, and William Mather Lewis sign a statement which points out the apparent uselessness of this saving campaign to the people carrying it out.

"The meatless day appeal," says the committee, "is met by the statement of thousands that they have been forced to have many meatless days for a long time past.

"The people who have followed the suggestion of the food administration with regard to bread are becoming restive because of the fact that the price of bread is higher than previous to this campaign.

"In the early spring our people were urged to plant all possible vacant lots with vegetables, and this was done. Today almost every dooryard has its garden and yet the prices of green groceries in the market were never higher."

Organizations and people that have been blindest in demanding a unanimous, uncritical "patriotism" of every one in the country at this time—and especially of women, although their disfranchisement has never pressed upon them more gallingly—are at last beginning to see that their point of view is impractical. How soon will the government itself see that this war requires cooperation—and that it cannot expect all the cooperation to come from the governed?

Despotism

MR. BRAND WHITLOCK, former United States minister to Belgium, in a Fourth of July address at the tomb of Napoleon in France, declared that there is no room in a free world for a despot. He said:

"Suddenly, as though it had stepped out of the Middle Ages, autocracy, reincarnated in a military despotism, made its appearance in the modern world and proposed to tear up all charters of human liberty, to destroy the work of the centuries.

"It precipitated anew the old conflict between freedom and slavery.

"The world has grown too small for autocracy and democracy to live in it together. The urge of democracy is irresistible; it is the destiny of men to be free; peoples developed in the light of free institutions do not turn backward to the dark. The history of the emancipated nations of the earth all tends one way—toward liberty, 'upward toward the light.'"

Mr. Whitlock sees a new birth of freedom coming for every nation. Meanwhile as he passes on this message of the growth of liberty in the world to France, the women of the United States are held at a standstill by a government that is showing the suspicious marks of a despotism.

Women in the Finnish Government

WOMEN of Finland, according to *Jus Suffragii,* have taken their part in the reorganization of the government of that country since the Russian revolution. As an immediate result of the revolution the Finnish Parliament was summoned, opening the 11th of April with the Socialist party in the majority. Many women deputies took their seats. Lucina Hagman, leading suffragist of Finland, was chosen by the congress as one of the forty-five electors who appoint all committees, and was made chairman of the committee of education. Dr. Jennv is elector and member of the Grand Committee, to which all bills have first to be submitted before decision by Parliament. Factory Inspector Vera Hjelt is a member of the Labor Committee. There are many other women who are electors and serve also on important committees.

In Finland, as in the United States, the food question is the question of the hour. In Finland arrangements for managing the food supply have been thoroughly established, with women co-operating on equal terms with men in this fundamentally important matter. In Helsingfors, the capital, food committees with administrative power are appointed for all the necessary kinds of food. Women are at work on all these committees, and Miss Dagmar Neovius is head of the bread committee.

War Measures in France

THE French Parliament has made the Saturday half-holiday compulsory for all women working in the clothing trade. This is the second time since the war started that the French government has found time to pass a law granting important reforms to working women. The first law of this kind was the minimum wage for home workers. The Saturday law will undoubtedly be extended later to cover all industries, but the government refused such extension now lest it meet with too great opposition from manufacturers.

This bill was introduced and passed at the instigation of the government in direct answer to the enormous strikes of working women all over France, and especially of women in the clothing trade, in May and June of this year. In the debate in the senate, M. Henry Cheron, who had the bill in charge, declared in its favor that the women had earned it by severe toil; that it was in the interests of home life; and that French women during the war had showed distinguished devotion, courage and patriotism by care of the wounded, by replacing men, and by their endurance of hardships.

The spirit of French women will not be satisfied by this sop from the government that is still holding up the municipal suffrage measure which it has promised to pass. On the other hand it will be increased by the proof that Parliament must yield to any real pressure put upon it by the women who are doing one-half of the work of war-making.

Suffrage Promised in Hungary

THE new ministry in Hungary, headed by Esterhazy, has promised to include woman in its program of franchise reform. It will extend the suffrage to limited classes of women, including those owning or managing property or businesses. The Hungarian Feminist Union is dissatisfied with this promise and will fight for the granting of universal suffrage at this time. In any case this limited franchise is sure as a stepping-stone to full suffrage in that country.

The Vindication of the Suffrage Pickets

THE President asked me for suggestions as to what might be done, and I replied that in view of the seriousness of the present situation the only solution lay in immediate passage of the Susan B. Anthony amendment.

"One of the suggestions that evidently have been made to the President was for a pardon for the women at the Workhouse. This suggestion seemed to appeal to the President, but it was apparent that this would be only a temporary relief, since the picketing would undoubtedly continue and the agitation go on until the entire question is settled.

"The President discussed the advisability of treating the suffrage amendment as a war emergency measure and asked for data which would throw light on the subject as to whether it would be likely to pass Congress with the necessary majority if he should add it to his war emergency program. I volunteered to furnish him a canvass of the house and senate which would be quite convincing on this line."—*Statement by J. A. H. Hopkins of his interview with President Wilson on July 18.*

THE President's unconditional pardon of the sixteen suffragists who stood sentinel at his gates with his own democratic promises on banners, closes a chapter in the American woman suffrage struggle as ignoble as was the Salem witchcraft chapter in the history of this country. A group of women, representing the highest ideals, the best citizenship of this country, were arrested, on a petty technical charge, for telling the truth—and given a sentence so drastic that it focussed the eyes of the whole country in amazement on the White House. The President's answer was that he had not known the facts, that he was "shocked," and "unconditional pardon" followed.

During the confinement of these American women in the government workhouse, they were discriminated against by the warden of the institution as they had been discriminated against by the petty judge who gave them a sentence twice as long as that meted out to "three-time" prostitutes, drunkards, and "disorderly" cases. They were also discriminated against by the President himself who gave an "unconditional pardon," but tried to escape responsibility by making no comment of any sort in so doing.

Dudley Field Malone, collector of the port of New York, and J. A. H. Hopkins, the New Jersey Progressive, whose wife was among the prisoners confined at Occoquan workhouse, both protested to the President as to the sentence meted out to these American women and the conditions they were forced to submit to at the workhouse. It was in response to the indignation of these two men, both personal friends of the President, that the President declared he was "shocked." Both men impressed upon the chief executive that the only answer to an intolerable situation which had been created in this country by his own attitude on the federal suffrage situation, was the passage of the federal suffrage amendment. The President for the first time in the history of his forced progression toward complete democracy, asked for a poll of the favorable and unfavorable votes in the house and senate.

His answer, however, has so far been, not the weight of his influence toward the passage of federal suffrage amendment, but the unconditional pardon of the women confined at Occoquan. The women pardoned were Mrs. John Winters Brannan, Mrs. John Rogers, Miss Doris Stevens, of New York; Miss Janet Fotheringham, of Buffalo; Mrs. Florence Bayard Hilles, of Wilmington; Miss Anne Martin, of Reno; Miss Florence Hulburt, of Morristown, N. J.; Miss Eleanor Calnan, of Methuen; Mrs. Beatrice Kinkead, of Montclair, N. J.; Miss Minnie D. Abbott, of Atlantic City; Mrs. Paul Reyneau, of Detroit; Mrs. J. A. H. Hopkins, of Morristown, N. J.; Mrs. L. P. Mayo, of Framingham, Mass.; Miss Mary H. Ingham, of Philadelphia; Mrs. Gilson Gardner, of Washington; Mrs. Amelia Hines Walker, of Baltimore.

IT was the non-committal silence of the President in regard to this enforced pardon, which had been interpreted to the prisoners as support for the amendment, that drove Mrs. J. A. H. Hopkins to make a test case of her individual experience. In that Mr. Hopkins had interviewed the President, who had pledged his support, his silence, Mrs. Hopkins held, was insupportable.

Quite alone, at five in the afternoon, the day following the release of the prisoners, Mrs. Hopkins, after writing to the President a letter that was in effect an accusation and a declaration of rights, carried a banner to the White House gates and stood sentry there for ten minutes. On her banner was the declaration: "We do not ask pardon for ourselves, but justice for all American women." While Mrs. Hopkins stood at attention, confronted by a curious crowd as large as had collected on those days when the police had arrested women for "obstructing traffic," the President passed through the gates and saluted.

Mrs. Hopkins' challenge to the President, to which he has as yet made no response, is as follows:

MY dear Mr. President: The pardon issued to me by you is accompanied by no explanation. It can have but one of two meanings—either you have satisfied yourself, as you personally stated to Mr. Hopkins, that I violated no law of the country, and no ordinance of this city, in exercising my right of peaceful petition, and therefore you, as an act of justice, extended to me your pardon, or you pardoned me to save yourself the embarrassment of an acute and distressing political situation.

"In this case, in thus saving yourself, you have deprived me of the right through appeal to prove by legal processes that the police powers of Washington despotically and falsely convicted me on a false charge, in order to save you personal or political embarrassment.

"As you have not seen fit to tell the public the true reason, I am compelled to resume my peaceful petition for political liberty. If the police arrest me I shall carry the case to the Supreme Court, if necessary. If the police do not arrest me, I shall believe that you do not believe me guilty. This is the only method by which I can release myself from the intolerable and false position in which your unexplained pardon has placed me.

"Mr. Hopkins and I repudiate absolutely the current report that I would accept a pardon which was an act of your 'good nature.'

"In this case, which involves my fundamental constitutional rights, Mr. Hopkins and myself do not desire your presidential benevolence, but American justice.

"Furthermore, we do not believe that you would insult us by extending to me your 'good nature' under these circumstances.

"This pardon, without any explanation of your reasons for its issuance, in no way mitigates the injustice inflicted upon me by the violation of my constitutional civil right.

"Respectfully yours,

"Alison Turnbull Hopkins."

THE suffrage picket on the President as the responsible head of this nation was resumed Monday, July 23, exactly one month from the day the police had intervened and created disturbances by attempting to stop peaceful picketing on the part of suffragists at the gates of the White House.

The vast crowds that flood the avenue between four and five on every working day, the same crowds that the police have been accusing suffragists of being the "proximate cause" of, streaming homeward once more caught sight of the floating purple, white and gold banners under the White House trees. The vast majority laughed aloud at the victorious banners that had figured in police raids and court rooms for so many weeks. Many congratulated the women holding the banners on their victory for democracy, with hopes that the six months' vigil was nearly over.

At one gate stood that battle-scarred banner that has been torn down by the police, and by the disorderly persons they encouraged, and looked upon with official disapproval by a petty police judge. Faded and torn, the many in the crowd looked at it with respect. The simple legend it carried, which in the past month has caused the arrest of fifty-eight women in an American community, was "Mr. President, how long must women wait for liberty?"—the last public utterance of Inez Milholland Boissevain.

At the other gate floated a new banner, on that first day held by a released prisoner from Occoquan: "We ask, not pardon for ourselves, but justice for all American women." Many a man took off his hat as he read the words that the President of the United States has not yet seen the significance of.

Among the women who served the first day of the resumption of the picket line were Mrs. John Winters Brannan, of New York; Mrs. Paul Reyneau, of Detroit; Miss Eleanor Calnan, of Boston; Miss Lucy Brannan, of Baltimore; Mrs. W. J. Ascough, of Hartford; Miss Vivian Pierce, of San Francisco; Miss Katherine Fisher, of

Concluded on Page Five

Occoquan

By Matilda Hall Gardner

ON the afternoon of Tuesday, July 17, Judge Mullowney sentenced sixteen women, of whom I was one, to sixty days in the Workhouse on a charge of "obstructing traffic."

We were taken to the District jail and held there about an hour and a half. During that time the superintendent of the jail and the matron were extremely solicitous for our comfort. The matron urged the wisdom of eating something before we left, and we were served with soup, bread and milk. It seemed to be clean and wholesome food. Later we looked back on that refreshment with increased respect. Just before we left the jail a roll of toilet paper was handed to one of the group.

At the Union Station the superintendent of the jail put us in charge of Mr. Whittaker, superintendent of the Workhouse. Superintendent Whittaker's manner was unpleasant, but we were quite inclined to make allowances for him. We felt that he was probably sorry to be obliged to take us, and possibly embarrassed in carrying out his duty. We didn't mind walking two by two from the gate to the train and it was mildly amusing to have with us the oranges he had forbidden Miss Vernon to give to us.

The short journey on the train was pleasant and uneventful. From the station at Occoquan the women sent to the Workhouse were put into three conveyances; two were filled with white women and the third with colored women. In the office of the Workhouse we stood in a line and one at a time were registered and given a number. The matron called us by number and first name to the desk. Money and jewelry was accounted for and put in the safe. We were then sent to the dining-room. The meal of soup, rye bread and water was not palatable, and some of us managed to eat a piece of the smuggled oranges, but not with great success. Most of the fruit was taken from us. One of the group said it reminded her of breaking rules at boarding school. We all agreed cheerfully that we would try to pretend we were at boarding school and obey the rules. Pretending that we were in boarding school began speedily to be a difficult accomplishment. But we did endeavor, every one of the sixteen women, to obey the Workhouse rules.

FROM the dining-room we were taken to the dormitory. At one end of the long room a white woman and two colored women were waiting for us. Before these women we were obliged, one by one, to remove all our clothing, and after taking a shower bath put on the Workhouse clothes. These clothes consisted of heavy unbleached muslin chemise and drawers, a petticoat made of ticking, and a heavy dark gray cotton mother hubbard dress. The last touch was a full, heavy, dark blue apron which tied around the waist. The stockings were thick and clumsy. There were not enough stockings, and those of us who did not have stockings during our sojourning there were probably rather fortunate. We were told to wear our own shoes for the time being, as they did not have enough in stock. The one small rough towel that was given to us we were told must be folded and tucked into our aprons. The prisoners were permitted to have only what they could carry.

The dormitory was clean and cool and we longed to go to bed, but we were told we must dress and go into the adjoining room where Superintendent Whittaker would see us. Mr. Whittaker brought with him a man whom we afterward learned was a newspaper man. The superintendent informed us that for about an hour we could do as we chose, and pointing to the piano said we might play and sing. The piano was not unlocked while we were there, but that night no one had a desire to sing. Although Mr. Whittaker's words were few and not unpleasant, we realized that our presence did not cause him either embarrassment or regret.

We were told that one dormitory was given up to colored women; in the other one, the one in which we were to sleep, there would be both colored and white women. We had asked to be allowed to have our toilet things and were told we could not have them until the next morning, that is we would be permitted to have our combs and tooth brushes then. But we were not permitted to have these until Thursday. One matron told us we must not lend our comb to other prisoners and must not mingle with the colored women.

At the end of the long dormitory was the "washroom" and several toilets used by all the women in the dormitory. There was no toilet paper and when we asked for it we were told explicitly that it was not furnished and we would not be given any. The paper which had been given to us at the jail had been taken from us. The following day we were obliged to see the doctor and answer questions as to vaccination and so on. We complained to him of the serious condition and were told he would report it to the superintendent. Later in the day we were told that we could use the toilet reserved for the night matron and that toilet paper would be furnished.

THE day was spent in the sewing-room. We were permitted to talk in low tones, two or three being allowed to sit together. While we were there the sewing was very light. We turned hems on sheets and pillow slips and sewed on the machine. There were both white and colored women working in the sewing-room. The work was monotonous and our clothing extremely heavy.

The great nervous strain came at meal time. All the women ate in one big room. The white women sat at one side. The meal time lasted thirty and sometimes forty minutes. The food to us was not palatable, but we all tried to be sensible and eat enough to keep up our strength. The real problem, however, was not the food; it was the enforced silence. We were not allowed to speak in the dining-room, and after a conscientious effort to eat, the silent waiting was curiously unpleasant.

There were other regulations which were trying. In the "recreation time" the prisoners are not allowed to sew or knit. The use of the pencil is forbidden at all times. Each inmate is permitted to write but two letters a month, one to her family and one business letter. All mail received and sent is opened and read by one of the officials. Next to our longing for our own toilet things was our desire for a pencil and a scrap of paper. Another rule which makes life in the Workhouse more difficult than life in jail is that the Workhouse prisoners are not permitted to receive any food sent in from outside.

DURING our stay in the Workhouse we all received helpful hints, and even more helpful warnings from the inmates, and also from some of the subordinates connected with the institution. For obvious reasons it is not wise to go into details concerning these acts of friendliness. We found that the other prisoners were all amazed at the excessive sentences we had received. Old offenders, they told us, received only thirty days. We were allowed no privileges, but were compelled to conform literally to the rules provided for the unfortunate women usually to be found at such an institution.

The attitude of Superintendent Whittaker was, from the beginning, distinctly unfriendly. This culminated in an almost unbelievable exhibition as we were leaving. Asking for the attention of Miss Burns and the rest of us, Superintendent Whittaker said, "Now that you are going, I have something to say to you." And turning to Miss Burns, he continued, "And I want to say it to you. The next lot of women who come here won't be treated with the same consideration that these women were."

Superintendent Whittaker's threat should not be taken seriously. The police department has received new orders concerning the suffrage pickets and it is quite conceivable that if there were further arrests, Judge Mullowney and Superintendent Whittaker would also have new orders.

The Vindication of the Suffrage Pickets

Concluded from Page Four

New York; Miss Fotheringham, of Buffalo; Mrs. Annie Arniel, of Wilmington; Miss Anne Martin, of Nevada; Miss Doris Stevens, of Nebraska; Miss Pauline Clarke, of New York.

The following telegram, sent to the President of the United States following the "pardon," shows the temper of the forward-looking suffragists of the nation who refuse to be put off longer by fine words or non-committal benevolence:

A pardon extended to those who have committed no offense is not an adequate fulfilment of your duty towards democracy. Congress should at once pass the suffrage amendment enfranchising 20,000,000 women as a war measure. Your influence is sufficient to insure passage of the amendment. Therefore, the responsibility for the delay and injustice towards women rests upon your shoulders. Please act at once and be true to your own words.—Respectfully yours, (Signed) *Mary Winsor, Pennsylvania Branch, N. W. P.*

THE SUSAN B. ANTHONY AMENDMENT

Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of suffrage to women.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE—SEC. 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

"SEC. 2. Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

THE AMENDMENT IN THE SIXTY-FIFTH CONGRESS

Introduced

In the Senate, on April 4, 1917, by Senators Thompson, Owen, Jones and Shafroth.

In the House, on April 2, 1917, by Representatives Raker, Rankin, Mondell, Keating and Hayden.

Referred

In the Senate, to the Committee on Woman Suffrage.

In the House, to the Judiciary Committee.

Present Status

In the Senate

Before the Committee on Woman Suffrage.

In the House

Before the Judiciary Committee.

HISTORY OF THE AMENDMENT

Drafted

In its present form, by Susan B. Anthony in 1875.

First Introduced

January 10, 1878, by Hon. A. A. Sargent, in the Senate.

Reported from Committee

In the Senate

1878, Adverse majority.
1879, Favorable minority.
1882, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1884, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1886, Favorable majority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1892, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1896, Adverse majority.
1913, Favorable majority.
1914, Favorable majority.
1916, Favorable majority.

In the House

1883, Favorable majority.
1884, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
1886, Favorable minority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1894, Adverse majority.
1914, Without recommendation.
1916, Without recommendation.

Voted Upon

In the Senate

January 25, 1887. Yeas 16, nays 34. Absent 26 (of whom 4 were announced as for and 2 against).

March 19, 1914. Yeas 35, nays 34, failing by 11 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

In the House

January 12, 1915. Yeas 174, nays 204, failing by 78 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

The Suffragist

Editors

Miss Vivian Pierce — Miss Pauline Clarke

Associate Editors

Miss Lavinia Dock — Miss Crystal Eastman — Miss Pauline Jacobson
Mrs. Florence Brewer Boeckel — Mrs. Gilson Gardner — Miss Fola La Follette

Cartoonist, Mrs. Nina E. Allender

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The Pickets and the President

THE amazing episode in the suffrage movement caused by the attempt of the government to suppress the appeal of women for political freedom by a policy of arrest and imprisonment ended last week in the government's complete and sudden surrender.

Eighteen women, arrested and sentenced with open disregard for the law by appointees of President Wilson, were suddenly "pardoned" by the President to still a storm of indignant protest rising in every part of the country.

Immediately after the "pardon," it was broadly intimated in the Washington press that the "pickets" would not be molested again by the police. When they carried their banners to the White House gates the next day—repeating in every particular the act for which they had been arrested—they were allowed to take their stand in peace; and their steady appeal to the President for justice to women is now pursuing its even course, as it was before the campaign of violence initiated by the administration against them.

This is a victory, singular in these days of war hysteria, of the people against the United States government.

The government has led the nation into war; and now seizes its opportunity to stamp domestic reforms as "treasonable." Women have steadfastly maintained that their demand for justice at home was in the highest sense patriotic and loyal. They have stood out against the petty persecution of police courts in defense of fundamental liberty, and have held their ground.

The suffrage pickets, cleaving to their belief in democracy for America and for the world, have sent a clear message to the American people. They have announced in the unmistakable language of action that American women are not satisfied with disfranchisement—that in a time of war they demand liberty. They boldly accuse the administration of disloyalty to the highest interests of the nation in blocking a popular demand for extended franchise rights.

Something for Nothing

W. H. Crichton Clarke

SO LONG as men can take one position before election and another after, without any embarrassment or obvious inconsistency, they will do so. Mr. Wilson would have good-humoredly welcomed picketing during his campaign as a means of advertising his sympathy with the cause. It is only after election that he wants his former position forgotten, and becomes affronted because women expect him to feel now the way he did then.

There is no more political sense in letting men postpone woman suffrage until after the war in the United States, than there is in similarly postponing equal manhood suffrage in Prussia or home rule in Ireland.

THERE is such a thing as being too kind to politicians. The Irish have done nothing for England and they can have home rule at once by agreeing among themselves; this because England needs their co-operation. English women, however, are working their hands off on war work and, therefore, England wanted them to wait until after the war to get the vote. Gratitude runs high during a war and during a political campaign. It cools down when peace or victory comes.

If women were capable of folding their hands and saying: "Mr. Wilson treats this as a war for *male* democracy; he resents any suggestion that it is also for *female* democracy; when this war involves women's rights as well as men's, we will volunteer our services," women would be courted the same as Ireland is. They would get the vote so quickly it would astound them.

Women worked during the Civil War; they were to have recognition afterward. They did not get it. The time to get the vote in Ireland, Prussia, and the United States is before the war stops.

Let us fight for democracy abroad, and at the same time make it worth fighting for at home. While we see the big mote in Germany's eye, let us not overlook the little one in our own; that is, if one can truthfully call it a "little mote" that half the adult population of our "democracy" is without a voting voice in the government that rules them.

EVEN New York voters might be now led to find an appealing sympathy in the thought that women who had worked faithfully for Mr. Wilson under his strong endorsement of their cause during his campaign were forced to stand in wind and rain to remind him of their services and his vanished interest and of the many things women are now doing for their country.

MR. WILSON'S resentment against the women picketing is due entirely to the fact that his keen mind realizes that he cannot send out effective or stirring appeals for male democracy with banners at his very door reminding him that while he is willing to send millions of men into scenes of foreign carnage to protect the man's vote, he is not willing to send a message to Congress for the woman's vote. The dilemma galls him. There are only three alternatives:

(1) To send his former supporters to jail for holding up banners such as any lunch stand has a right to send out as advertisements;

(2) To stop sending out his stirring appeals for male democracy;

(3) To send his message to Congress for women's rights.

The first horn of the dilemma will grow too hot to hold. We cannot fight in Europe for rights while we are jailing women here because they peacefully petition for them.

The second horn is unthinkable. The whole country is committed to this fight for democracy and the appeals must not cease.

The third alternative represents the line of least resistance, if women will simply keep a stiff upper lip, especially because, as soon as Mr. Wilson begins to let women go to jail rather than to redeem any part of the implied promises of his campaign, women will begin to show resentment and let up on their war work.

THE laborer is worthy of his hire, and the women's work will earn the vote now if that is the only way to gain her support for the war. But politicians, so long as they receive work for nothing, will give nothing for it. Mr. Wilson got the support of many women during his campaign for nothing, and now he is paying for it in the same coin, but he naturally does not desire that attention should be called to the fact.

The Challenge of Governments

By Harriot Stanton Blatch

IN the conflict of opinions as to the propriety of Colonel Roosevelt's protest in regard to race riots in East St. Louis, and in the torrent of words over the Woman's Party White House banners, and now in regard to the expulsion of certain citizens from Arizona, larger aspects of very vital matters have been lost sight of. Whether Colonel Roosevelt was daintily polite, or the action of the Woman's Party opportune is a question of small moment compared with the importance of the facts which were made to stand out clearly.

Our nation has entered very tardily upon a great world war which, whatever its starting point, has now developed into a challenge of governments everywhere. When every nation is setting its house in order why should we expect our injustices to escape notice? Surely the lamentable fact is that we have skeletons in our political cupboard, and not that some one rattles them to the annoyance of smug citizens.

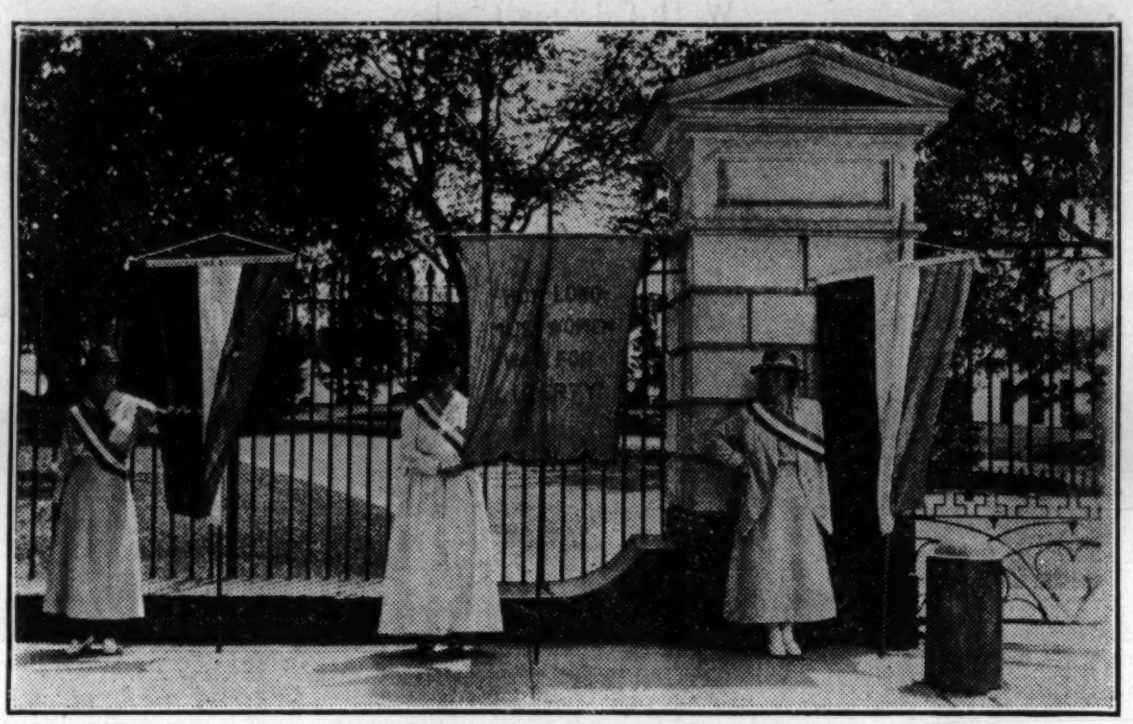
There is not a thoughtful person who will not approve the protest of President Wilson to the governor of Arizona in regard to the "danger of citizens taking the law into their own hands." And equally will thoughtful citizens condemn the lawlessness in East St. Louis and at the gates of the White House, where peaceable women were set upon by rowdies unchecked by the police.

There are those who excuse this lawlessness because at "such a time" the head of the government should not be "disturbed" by the question of woman suffrage. At a much more critical time for England Lloyd George is being disturbed about the self-government of a little island of five millions of people. And surely no one can suppose the czar was not disturbed, or Constantine! The disturbing of governments where injustice exists is universal. If America's smooth words about liberty and democracy are not genuine, then our government will be disturbed.

The whole world is seething, and such challenges as that of Colonel Roosevelt and of the White House banners are as certain to occur here as are protests elsewhere in the name of human freedom. And here, as elsewhere, protests cannot be stopped by criticism of their form or by suppression, but only by doing justice.

The day of reckoning for political tyranny is at hand. Facts prove the moment opportune. America will be badly led if at a time when all governments are capitulating she wraps herself in a cloak of self-righteousness and proclaims that her government alone in the whole wide world needs no amending.

Picket Pardon Precipitates Renewed Demand for Action



The Resumption of the Picket Line

Left to Right, Miss Hazel Hunkins, Mrs. John Winters Brannan and Miss Anne Martin
Who Have All Been Arrested for Picketing

WITH the belated liberation of the White House pickets and reversal of the administration policy on suffrage picketing, the protest meetings being held in every part of the country, the bombardment of Congress and the President by telegrams and letters demanding the release of the women in prison, changed to a renewed demand for the passage of the Susan B. Anthony amendment as a war measure. The imprisonment of thirty-three women in Washington has galvanized the country as a whole, apparently, into the realization that women asked to bear war burdens must be now given a voice in the government that exacts service from all alike.

No sooner were the suffrage pickets released from Occoquan than demands to hear them present the dereliction of the government in depriving women of votes began to flow in from many cities. Protest meetings have been held in California, in Washington state, in the larger cities of Colorado, Minnesota, Michigan, in South Carolina, in Mississippi, and in many eastern centers. Miss Mabel Vernon spoke in Morristown, New Jersey; Hartford, Connecticut; Boston and its suburban towns; Philadelphia, and New York. In each city indignant women volunteered for the picket line, although at the time they knew that prison sentences undoubtedly confronted them; and telegrams were sent to Congress and to the President, protesting against the attitude of the administration and demanding action on the federal suffrage amendment.

SARA BARD FIELD spoke last week in Denver at one of the largest protest meetings which have been held since the government prosecution of suffragists started. The meeting at the Brown Palace Hotel was in charge of Dr. Margaret Long, chairman of the First Congressional district. Miss Alice Henkle, of Chicago, for several months in charge of the White House and Capitol pickets, and one of the most engaging of the younger suffrage speakers, told the six months' history of the suffrage picketing up to the dramatic interference of the government. Mrs. Field made it very plain that the whole opposition to the passage of suffrage as a war measure came from the White House, and denounced the stupidly suppressive measures being taken in Washington against the women's expression of their dissatisfaction.

Mrs. Helen Miller, a member of the Governor's Advisory Council, and treasurer of the Denver Branch of the Woman's Party, introduced the speakers. Telegrams of protest were sent to the President and to Congress, and a large sum collected to carry on the national work of the party.

Miss Vernon, one of the first pickets to be arrested for picketing, in her New England meetings, was uncompromising in her attitude toward the administration. "The pickets have merely visualized the demand of women throughout the country for the immediate enfranchisement of American women. If we women are making things difficult now—and I pray to heaven that we are—let us make the difficulty as great as possible in order to put this thing through," she said.

IN St. Paul last week the National Editorial Association, representing alert newspaper men from every part of the country, without one dissenting vote endorsed an emphatic resolution calling on Congress and the President to pass the national suffrage amendment as a war measure. This strong endorsement, coming from a large group commonly considered conservative, demonstrates the changing tone of public opinion that the sentence of American women in Washington, opening up the whole federal suffrage question, inevitably brought about.

Miss Sarah C. Grant, executive secretary of the Minnesota Woman's Party, in speaking of the convention and the endorsement, says: "I came away heartened by the many individual resolutions sent to President Wilson and by the many promises of action on the part of their congressmen by delegates from Colorado, Massachusetts, Illinois, Arkansas, the Dakotas, Wisconsin, Texas, Florida, Iowa, and Minnesota. If some of these congressmen could have heard the frank disgust expressed that America is following, not leading, Russia and England in this matter, I think they would pass the federal suffrage amendment overnight. All the Arkansas delegates," goes on Miss Grant, "were suffragists, as was Governor Brough, who attended the convention. It was the Arkansas delegation that claimed the honor of moving the suffrage resolution adopted."

DURING Mrs. St. Clair Thompson's second visit to Mississippi last week, this energetic Southern field secretary held a mass meeting in Vicksburg, to which men were invited, at which the story of the fearless picket was told; and added important working officers to the state roster of the National Woman's Party. The following Mississippi women are now serving as vice-chairmen of the state branch of the Woman's Party: Mrs. Linn Boyd Watkins, of Pass Christian; Miss Anna Miltenberger, president of the Civic League of Pass Christian; Mrs. J. H. Walsh, vice-regent of the D. A. R., of Gulfport; Mrs. M. D. Goodwin, of Gulfport; Miss Emma Borchert, of Vicksburg; and Miss Nellie Curphey, of Vicksburg.

It is amusing to note that Representative Pat Harrison's wholesome respect for the National Woman's Party has not decreased since his committee, the Rules Committee, decided, in spite of him, to report favorably the motion to create a suffrage committee in the House. The Mississippi press declare that he fled before Mrs. Thompson when she went to Gulfport with the avowed intention of leading a deputation of indignant women from Pass Christian, Biloxi, and Gulfport to the congressman. The trouble was, said the papers, that Mr. Harrison heard of the deputation and fled from his home the very day the suffragists arrived, though he was scheduled for another week in Gulfport. Gulfport leaders, however, expressed their protest by joining the state executive committee of the Woman's Party.

Comments

New York Women Congratulate Prisoners

WHILE Root is talking in Russia and Pershing is preparing in France, here's three cheers for the plucky rear guard who are now fighting for women at home. We pledge our support and Red Cross dividends to you who are exposing the hypocracy of spreading abroad a democracy which does not exist in these United States. We congratulate you, the only clear-sighted, single-minded, courageous suffragists in America.—*Grace Johnston, Katharine Anthony, Myra Louise Grant, Marjorie Benton Cooke, Elizabeth Irwin, Jessie Benton Cooke, Elinor Burns, Sophie Wilds, Harriet Johnson, Harriet Forbes, Helen Hilliard, Sidney Colestock, Dr. Gertrude Kelly, Mary Ware Dennett, Katherine Leckie, Marion B. Cothren, Mary Chamberlain, Elizabeth C. Watson, Elizabeth W. Colt.*

Making the President Safe for Democracy

I SHOULD like to congratulate you and your fellow-workers on the wonderful results of your present campaign of picketing the President, so as to make him safe for democracy. In my opinion, it is the best piece of educational militancy in the whole history of the suffrage fight in this country.

May I urge you not to let yourselves be deterred or deflected from your present line of action by the fearsomeness of your friends or the criticism of your enemies, both within and without the suffrage movement. The time for silk-mitted grandmotherly tactics has passed. Woman will never win her fight by entreaties. What is needed is agitation *sostenuto* and *crescendo*.

"De l'audace, encore de l'audace, toujours de l'audace."—*Frederick A. Blossom.*

Sacrifice for Political Justice

WE pledge five hundred dollars as proof of our admiration of the courageous spirit of the women who are sacrificing their personal liberty for political justice for all the women of this country.—*Irene and Alice Lewisohn, New York City.*

The Battles of the People

WOMEN of courage are fighting in front of the national executive mansion the battles of the people—for justice to women, for free speech, for the maintenance of the constitution.—*John Brisben Walker, New York.*

The Historic Struggle

I AM in heartiest accord with the efforts you are making for the federal amendment. All of our liberties emerge from just such a struggle as you are so gallantly making. The world's libertarians were first treated as criminals. This is not the only time that truth has been on the scaffold.—*Frederick C. Howe, Commissioner of Immigration.*

From an Economist

THE government should be ashamed of arresting women who fight for liberty. It should follow the example of Russia and England and pass the suffrage amendment.—*Charles A. Beard, of Columbia University.*

I'M TERRIBLY SHOCKED AT SUCH A THING. I'VE BEEN SO BUSY CARRYING DEMOCRACY TO THE WORLD THAT I HAD NOT NOTICED YOUR PLIGHT BEFORE!
WILSON
FLAG OF THE "FREE".
IMPRISONED SUFFRAGIST AT WASHINGTON
Ryan Walker

From the New York Call, July 22

From North Carolina

WE have a full-sized man's job fighting to extend democracy in Europe. We cannot consistently at the same time fight against extending it to those mothers, wives, sisters, and daughters who ask it here. Our women are full equals of men in character, intelligence, and patriotism. Good faith requires the adoption of the constitutional amendment for equal suffrage by Congress' submitting the question to the state legislatures to settle. The manhood of this country will never stand for war upon women.—*Walter Clark, Judge of Supreme Court in North Carolina.*

Democratic Institutions at Stake

THE standard-bearers of the suffrage movement are not speaking for themselves alone nor do they express the view-point of a small group. The enlightened public opinion of our nation is today in favor of equal suffrage. It is my opinion that the majority of American voters would grant such suffrage if given an opportunity to record their will. A view-point so generally held to represent fundamental issues of justice and human rights cannot properly be denied an appeal to the decision of the American voters. Our democracy is based on the principal of government by the people, for the people and of the people, which means a decision by the majority vote. The demand for the federal amendment is only a legitimate petition for hearing in this court. This issue exists. It cannot be met by the denial of the right to public expression or even by the imprisonment of suffrage standard-bearers. The fundamentals of our democratic institutions are involved.—*Edward A. Rumley, Editor of The New York Evening Mail.*

The Smoke of Ignorance

WHAT a magnificent stand the picketers are taking! When the smoke of opposition and prejudice and ignorance rolls away, and the nation comes to regard the matter in its true light, and with the splendid vision that has been granted to the Woman's Party, the work that the picketers have done will be regarded as one of the truly great and majestic and far-reaching episodes in the onward march of equal suffrage. —*From Susan P. Frost, Charleston, S. C.*

Consistency

ISN'T this a spectacle? Our best young men sent abroad to give up their lives (if need be) for world democracy and our best young women sent to jail because they are fighting a (bloodless) battle for real democracy at home. This would be extremely ludicrous were it not so tragic.

The picketing women at Washington have demonstrated that they have fighting blood in their veins and are just the kind of women that the President needs at this time of world war. They have shown that they are not slackers, but are ready to fight and suffer for the cause that they believe in. They are even willing to incur the displeasure and criticism of those who are opposed to their methods.

I have interviewed quite a number of politicians and lawyers regarding their opinions of our picketing methods and I find invariably that those who are opposed to woman suffrage object to the picketing, while those who really stand for suffrage say, "Go to it; keep it up; you will never get anything unless you fight for it."—*Ida Gray Scott, ex-Vice-Chairman of Indiana Branch, in the Indianapolis Star, July 1.*

Comments of the Press

The Winning Picket

WHETHER the Woman's Party policy of picketing the White House, holding banners which tell only the truth, is a winning policy or not, we do not know; time will tell.

The fact remains that since the creation of the Woman's Party, presidential suffrage has been granted in a number of eastern states and full suffrage in a number of states in the west.

We also know that the President himself, who has clung to the ancient myth of state rights on the suffrage question, though not on prohibition, and who has certainly repudiated all idea of state rights during the last three months, has recommended that a committee be appointed to consider the federal suffrage amendment.

The picketing policy of the Woman's Party was adopted in order to do exactly what it has done—attract attention to the cause which the president, congress and the majority of the voters would like to forget, and give it publicity.

Constitutionally it would seem that they are within their rights, for they do not disturb the peace, nor break any laws whatever.—*Detroit Times, June 25.*

An Appeal to Conscience

THE sixteen woman suffragists who were sentenced yesterday to sixty days in the workhouse, for "causing an unlawful assembly" before the White House, represent a thought which has been accepted by all forward-looking nations. They represent a movement toward political equality which we believe has the support of the majority of the American people.

The punishment imposed upon these women may be legally justified. But the attempt to suppress great principles by the application of force has never been successful in all history. It will be no more successful in this case. Ideas, if they are sound, have a way of triumphing over police measures. The Bastile fell before an idea. Russian czarism was swept away by the power of an idea. German autocracy is shaking to its foundations under the stress of the same idea.

It is a sound idea which the sixteen women who were sent to the workhouse at Washington represent. The power of the cause in which they incurred their penalty will not be diminished by their imprisonment. It will only grow and become more pressing in its appeal to the conscience of the American people.

In the end their cause will be decided by the ultimate tribunal, the will of the American people.—*The New York Evening Mail, July 18.*

Democracy Half-way

THE arrest of sixteen prominent women at Washington last Saturday is the eighth occurrence of its kind within three weeks. There will be others to match it, the suffragists say, until Congress takes action on a suffrage amendment or at least until the President is convinced of the justice of such an amendment. Such a wrangle at the capital is not an inspiring spectacle at a time when the nation is at war, and it is the less edifying when our country is fighting for a cause dear to our hearts—democracy.—*The Boston Journal, July 16.*

Weeks in the Washington Times

Banners!

An Un-American Administration

WASHINGTON reports state that the Kansas delegation is a unit in Congress for the woman suffrage amendment to the federal constitution. In this the delegation represents Kansas unquestionably.

Woman's enfranchisement is coming. The only question is how it is to come.

A federal grant of the recognition earned and won by women is the only worthy method of initiating women into the right of citizenship.

This is not merely a statement of sentiment, but is essentially practical. Not only is it the worthy plan because all historic steps towards freedom have been taken through constitutional amendments, but it is the only worthy plan because it is the only plan by which hundreds of thousands of women will not be omitted when suffrage is won.

Even if it should be the fact that reactionary sentiment should disappear on this issue in all the states, yet there are states whose constitutions are so reactionary in some of their provisions against changes of a radical character, that the ballot could not be given to the women in those states by constitutional amendment for a period of years, even though the voters desired to grant it.

There are a few states, however, that may be reactionary for another generation on this question. It is not the purpose of the nation as a whole to see a great liberal action or the will of the great majority frustrated by a few, as will probably occur if woman's enfranchisement waits on state action.

Congress will represent the growing sentiment of the country if it submits the Anthony amendment. Refusal to submit it is un-American, a refusal even to trust the nation to decide what must be acknowledged to be a vital present-day issue of national policy.—*Topeka, Kansas, Capital, July 2.*

It's Hardly So Bad as That

THE only persons who seem to be paying any attention to Congress are the semi-militant woman suffragists who got themselves into jail for their pains.—*New York Tribune, July 8.*

It Is Not

ANYWAY, the eagerness with which some newspapers are prophesying almost daily that the tactics of the suffrage pickets at Washington have defeated the Anthony amendment, stirs the suspicion that those newspapers are fervently hopeful that the guess is good. But perhaps it is not.—*Boston Evening Record, July 7.*

UNITY

A Weekly Magazine for Freedom in Religion, Democracy in all Its Forms, Internationalism, and the Abolition of Militarism

EDITOR, JENKIN LLOYD JONES

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Mrs. Wm. H. Blauvelt	$ 25.00
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Mrs. Henry Justice	10.00
Mrs. H. F. Hall	10.00
Mrs. K. G. Halligan	10.00
Mrs. W. N. Stewart	2.00
Mrs. B. Rawitz	1.00
Mrs. Mary McCue	2.00
Mrs. H. Marquardt	1.00
Miss S. B. Gray	3.00
Miss Michelbach	18.85
From sale of leftovers of Rummage Sale	16.00
Collection Miss Ingham's	9.85

Per Mrs. Ella M. Dean:

Miss Ida Craft	5.00
Mrs. Moller	1.00
Mrs. Hifton King	5.00
Miss C. Johnston	2.00
Mrs. Kate J. Boeckh	10.00
Collected	.40
Miss Mary A. Burnham	5,000.00
Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont	3,000.00
Cambridge, Mass., Branch	50.00
Mrs. Townsend Scott	5.00
Miss Helen Horan	5.00
Miss Julia E. Friend	5.00
Mrs. L. B. Bishop	5.00
Miss Helen Burns	5.00
Mrs. H. G. Harrison	100.00
L. T.	25.00
Mrs. Rosalie McK. Shelton	5.00
Mrs. Lillian M. McAdow	5.00
Mrs. J. W. Lever	5.00
Miss Margarette Krebs	5.00
Mrs. Clara Ross	5.00
Mrs. H. T. Comstock	10.00
Miss Grace D. Rose	2.00
Mrs. G. B. Twitchell	1.00
A Friend	1.00
Mrs. M. K. Macarty	1.00
Miss Clara L. Rowe	1.00
Mrs. C. W. Edwards	5.00
Mrs. A. M. A. Pickler	3.00
Miss Alice S. Provost	.24
Miss Grogan	5.00
Miss Nan B. Young	5.00
Mrs. A. H. Bright	2.00
Miss Agnes Bright	1.00

Per Mrs. Nina E. Allender:

Mr. E. N. Yates	3.75
Mrs. Barbara Walther	1.00
Miss Louise Middleton	5.00
Miss Josephine C. Locke	5.00
Miss E. K. Kundsen	5.00

Through District of Columbia Branch:

Mrs. John Jay White	25.00
Mrs. N. B. Marshall	5.00
Miss Kathleen Taylor	1.00
Miss Agnes Chase	5.00
Miss Jessie Ashley	50.00
Mrs. J. B. Justice	100.00
Miss Emma F. Baxter	100.00
Mrs. Chas. B. Wood	1,000.00
Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer	500.00
Mrs. Richard Wainwright	10.00
Mrs. Sara Waters	5.00
Mrs. Katherine Romer	15.00
Miss Cora A. Weeks	2.00
Miss Marion T. Read	10.00
Mrs. Nellie Spencer	1.00
Mrs. Louise Marshall	1.00
Mrs. Dexter Otey	10.00
Miss L. M. R. Hutchinson	1.00
Collections	17.27
Membership Fees	12.00

Total collected by National Headquarters	$ 10,798.01	
Previously acknowledged in THE SUFFRAGIST	241,270.55	
Total collected by National Headquarters through July 21		$252,068.56
Total colected by Branches through July 21	$ 34,672.12	
Grand Total		$286,740.68
DEDUCTION:		
Transferred from Branch Headquarters to National Headquarters		1,716.00
Grand Net Total		$285,024.68

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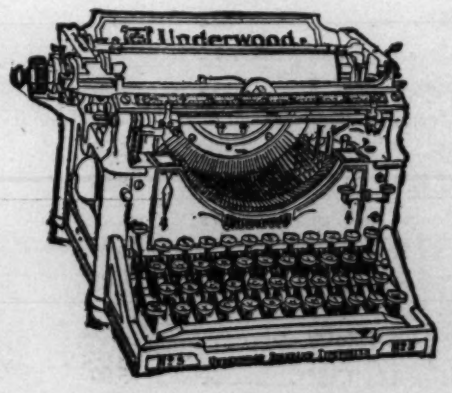

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